/145 cont./

567 conquered group they lack all rights in their society, since they are exiled from their original home, without consanguineous relatives because of the extinction of their clan or because of its poverty; consequently, they remain marginal to society in the class of pariahs; for this reason, women, on returning, resort almost without exception to prostitution. (3) The children of a slave woman and free father retain the mark of the mother unless she has been bought as a wife.

Manumission. The three forms of manumission of slaves known to us are the following:

1. By flight from the home of their masters. The slave, nevertheless, remains in a rather difficult position.

2. By purchase of female slaves as wives for free men.

3. By purchase of girl and boy slaves by the Capuchin mission to educate them in an orphanage and give them their freedom.

567 538 Slavery in oral literature. Slavery is mentioned in the oral narratives of the natives that refer to legends as much as it is in those that have the character of true histories. Of these we can present two: One is connected with the Kusina Indians /renegade Guajiro, more commonly spelled Cocina. -- Ed./ who one night decided to steal the livestock of an Indian called Kurírapáta of the Sierra de Jararà, who, while defending himself was shot in the thigh by the marauders. The story relates that Kurírapáta was picked up by his sisters and taken to their home, and that one night he dreamt that he should swallow a charm (a túma, "precious stone") and leave his wife, taking in exchange for her one of his female slaves. He carried out what his dream had commanded him; he swallowed the túma and called in one of his slaves, saying to her, "Come with me; you are to be my wife." In this way he cured his ailment.

In the narration of the Guajiro myth, the shaman Umaralá recounts how he received on the death of his aunt -- who had a great affection for him -- all her possessions as inheritance, and among them, her slaves. Disillusioned by sorrow over

/145 cont./
567 the death of his aunt, Umaralá dedicated himself to living in
538 a hut in the near-by woods where his aunt lay buried. There he fed on roots and wild fruit picked in the woods and only received a visit from time to time from his male slave, from whom he had also parted. /146/

175 Negro slavery in the eighteenth century. A most interest-
567 ing aspect of slavery in La Guajira is that related to Negro
648 slavery among these natives, which was at its height during the period of colonization, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was due to Negro commerce and to pearl fishing. Unfortunately, there remain only a few notes about these happenings, written by Father Julián in the
[114] eighteenth century, which have aided us in writing this last section regarding slavery. In the following lines we transcribe these notes which confirm the first case known up to the present in the history of all American Indians regarding the presence of Negro slaves among them. Father Julián says: "The fishermen of such pearls are the Guajiro Indians, who are in control of all this coast from the Río de la Hacha almost up to the famous lake of Maracaybo. These are the fishermen and owners of the pearls. It is they who sell them, who carry them to the Río de la Hacha, who trade them with foreigners who come in their brigs to these waters or anchor in the Bahía Honda. For the pearls they bring in, these Indians receive firearms, alcohol, wines, and even slaves, all of which they procure, becoming richer and ever more insolent and less conquerable." (1)

1. Julián, Antonio:
La Perla de América, Provincia de Santa Marta, reconocida, observada y expuesta en discursos históricos /The Pearl of America: Province of Santa Marta, checked, observed, and explained in historical

[37 cont.]

+713 539 until one night when he was weeping for his dead aunt, she appeared to him and said: "Go, my son, to the region of Jarara, take my cape and my maraca, visit the sick, and "shamanize" them, and only thus will you find the true path. But first you must change your name ... to that of Umaralía." (We see here another sign of apparent death, the change of name.) "The vision disappeared, and Umaralía felt obliged to obey what he had heard. He visited the sick, "shamanized" them, and drove away their sicknesses, and his fame as a great doctor ran throughout all La Guajira." (35)

35. Chaves. Op. cit., 322.

The story goes on to tell the amazing cures accomplished by Umaralía and in general the story of his life as a shaman until the moment of his death.

+756 538 What interests us in this story is simply the proof in the oral legendary literature of La Guajira of what we have been expounding throughout this chapter, that is, the symptomatology of the vocation of shaman represented by special sicknesses — usually of a hysterical [38] type — in which are involved the loss of speech and consciousness; delirium, possibly feverish, accompanied by visions and attacks; the initiation by an old shaman familiar with the tasks of curing; the presence of a protector spirit who has complete mastery over the pupil and dominates his will completely; the presence likewise of the magic objects of the shaman; the maraca and certain items of dress, etc.; the total lack of free will on the part of the individual about becoming a shaman, a profession which makes him strictly subject to the wishes of the spirits whom he must obey blindly. We have only to remember the words of his aunt to Umaralía and especially the words of the story, "Umaralía felt obliged to obey what he had heard ..."; the fact that the protector spirit is generally that of a dead shaman who continues to exercise his functions, his true functions of curing, through an intermediary: the living shaman. In other words, the shaman is really converted into a benefactor, or better still into a true

[38 cont.]

538 *756 medicine man, after his death, and it is only then that he can himself exercise his profession by himself, having at his service a terrestial intermediary, to whom he communicates by various means his methods of curing, events of the future, etc. This equally confirms our thesis, fully expounded previously, that the shaman is a man of two worlds: the world of the living and the world inhabited by the spirits of the dead. Lastly, it reaffirms what we have said in reply to Métraux's statement, that the feminine institution of shamanism in La Guajira is not due to the influence of European culture (which is only now beginning to be strongly felt) but is as ancient as their oral literature.

174 565 Present position of the shaman. If we consider socio-economic conditions in La Guajira in the Pre-conquest epoch, which placed the natives in a position of a people engaged essentially in hunting and in fishing on the coasts (36), we have to

> 36. Restrepo Tirado says: "The Guajiro and Cocina [Kusina] Indians occupy La Guajira Peninsula. They were nomads and lived by hunting and fishing in improvised encampments, which they moved from one site to another." (Historia de la Provincia de Santa Marta [History of the Province of Santa Marta], 1st, I, 15.)

accept as a fact a virtual equality between the different clans which composed the community. The superiority of one or various clans over the rest was possibly due to their greater aptitudes for war or the greater number of fighting men they had at their command. Riches would be represented by valuable adornments, necklaces of gold or of tuma, pearls, etc. [39]

174 554 *756 In such a state of affairs under the primitiveness which we can presume existed in the Guajiro community of that time, the shaman must have occupied the first place in the social hierarchy. His undiminished supernatural powers, his position as intermediary between the community and the world of the dead, the fears which his powers provoked were all sufficient reasons for him to be respected and feared above all and by all.

[48 cont.]

682 murderer's family after the crime were extremely cruel, as was to be expected given the Guajiro social organization. Their homes were burned down, their sources of water supply demol-
[567] ished, three men and four women were killed, and their children enslaved.

782 The interesting part of the subject we are now dealing with
751 lies in the sacrifice of animals. These apparently serve as
761 substitutes for the individuals whose sentence has been revealed in a dream. They take their place and are sacrificed in their stead. As a death has taken place, the evil spirit which had enslaved the future criminal in order to carry out its determination to harm him is now mollified by this act of propitiation. Moreover, as the animal (the black male goat in this case) shares the qualities of its owner by reason of such ownership, a part of the personality of the person sentenced to be punished in the dream is also sacrificed. The individual thus suffers two processes, death in part through the sacrifice of the animal and participation in the sacrifice by bathing in its blood.

171 Possible vestiges of this native belief still persist in
761 Colombian folklore in some parts of the departments of Antioquia,
825 Boyacá, Nariño, and Santander. There the people hold the be-
538 lief that when a domestic animal dies, especially if it is an animal that has been much loved by the people of the house, it is a sign that some member of the household had been about to die. The sentence of death which lay on that person, according to the explanation given in all cases, was transferred to the animal by a special concession from God, [49] thus avoiding a greater calamity to the family. In Nariño this belief, according to information from the Licentiate Chaves, appears in popular oral literature. There is in reality a story which tells of a recently married couple who felt or knew (we cannot say how) that they would die very shortly. To avoid this, the wife dedicated herself to breeding cuyes (curíes) [conejillo de Indias, a mammal of the order of rodents], which one by one died off; then she hastened to breed chickens, which also successively died; she then devoted herself to dogs, which also died. With the successive deaths of the animals, they were able to elude their own fate and lived happily together for a long time, free

171 [49 cont.]
538 from the menace of death that had weighed on them, and later
761 they were able to raise their domestic animals with greater
825 success than up to then.

000 Propitiation of the shaman's protector spirit. The sacrifice of animals as propitiation or thanksgiving offering to the spirit or spirits that have taken over the protection of the shaman is fully explained in the previous chapter, for which reason we abstain from making further reference to it.

782 Conclusions. We have the following facts regarding the
174 place of such sacrifices within Guajiro social organization: (a) Sacrifice of animals, of two kinds: one of a ritual funeral character and the other as a prevention of the fulfillment of dreams. (b) Human sacrifice, which may now be considered to have disappeared due to various circumstances which have already been described. (c) The first two exist at times in their original form, and at other times as mere survivals disguised in social rather than ritualistic forms, as happens for example in the sacrifice of animals during the secondary burial or the wake in the ceremony of the first burial. (d) But in any case the three show a distinct magic nature. (e) With respect to the sacrifice of animals we may suppose that in ancient times the animal sacrificed must have been a wild one from the forest obtained by hunting, as the Guajiro Indians, the same as all Colombian Indians and American Indians in general, were completely without, or almost without, any domestic animals, which were acquired only after the Conquest when the colonizing Spaniards imported them from the [Iberian] Peninsula to set up their ranches; (f) Based on this same socio-economic fact, we may presuppose quite an appreciable change in the content and form of certain types of ceremony, because the passing from one economy to another, particularly when it is so radical as [50] that of the
782 Guajiro, who changed his character of nomad hunter to that of herdsman and stock grazer, implies a very appreciable transformation in the general social organization. (g) In the sacrifice of children, and in that of animals in order to ward off the evils foreseen in dreams, we have to admit the contaminating effect of spilled blood — a very important taboo in La Guajira — which increases the malevolent effect of the magic

[60 cont.]

825 843 845 If in this same condition the woman sees a serpent under a stone or in a hole, her delivery will be delayed, and it will be difficult and long. As in the case immediately preceding this, prevention depends on the indifference shown by the woman toward the snake: She should immediately look away from the creature. But the coincidence of seeing a snake and its being in a hole or under a stone brings about a new complication, since two elements are involved: first, the snake as such as we have seen in the previous accounts; and second, its apparently difficult position, which is transmitted to the woman in the moment of childbirth in the form of delay in the birth and the physical difficulty of its accomplishment.

Also, the childbirth will be delayed several days and will be extremely painful if during her pregnancy the woman's husband commits the imprudence of killing a snake of any kind.

843 825 [61] The snake then, as we noted at the beginning and as we have been able to confirm by means of the examples submitted, exercises a special magic influence on pregnant women. [538] The position of the snake when seen, either directly by the woman or by the husband, makes this influence greater. We also heard from a story told to us that another belief exists related to the snake and women's pregnancy. We cannot say whether it really exists or if it is the product of imagination and legend because the two elements seem to be mixed up. It concerns a certain serpent that attacks people by jumping at them from a tree and forcing its tail into their ears, and the fact that it only attacks women at a certain period of their pregnancy or a pregnant woman's husband at the same period.

According to the story related to us, during the first three months of pregnancy the woman may be attacked by a very exceptional male serpent with three colors: green, black, and white, placed dorsally in the form of an X. (The female of the species, according to the story, has only one color: green.) The male serpent attacks the wife during the early months of pregnancy, as well as her husband. The creature is usually found hidden in the branches of trees which shade paths and can spring like an arrow from its place of ambush, attacking people with great accuracy. With a spring it settles on its victim's head,

[81 cont.]

individual is not capable of distinguishing between the merely fictitious, the imaginary and the real. To him, the image so faithfully rebuilt in his imagination is as real as the living image of the deceased. The explanation of the phenomenon, then, according to his mentality, is that the dead man has appeared before him for some reason or other.

This fact is complicated in addition by the belief that every dead person "retraces his steps," that is, he treads again all the paths he traveled during his life; he returns to places where he had been at different times; this is why he is "felt" very often. Many times the individual feels the presence of the dead, even if he does not see it. This Guajiro belief is also found to be very prevalent in all Colombian folklore. The phenomenon that the Colombian people call "retracing his steps" corresponds exactly to the Guajiro version which we have just transcribed. Of course, according to popular legends, the dead "retrace their steps" when they are dying or a few moments or even days before their death. To hear strange noises without apparent logical explanation, to see shadows, etc., are for the people evident signs that one of their relatives or friends, or even some person who in the past has lived in these parts, is dying or will die from one moment to the next. For the same reason they avoid walking alone along certain places when they know that someone who has lived there is close to death's door.

Degrees of danger in spirits. The Guajiro murderer suffers a double punishment; first, the claim for compensation payment for blood presented by the dead man's relatives, which involves his own death if he does not pay the sum agreed on; and second, the constant presence of the dead man's spirit, which never leaves him. For this reason, the murderer cannot enter a home where there are small children because the spirit of the dead man follows him, will climb over them, squeeze them, and make them cry. If the children are sick, the murderer's presence is even more dangerous because the spirit will rapidly cause their death. If they are well they usually become ill. [82]

The death of a fellow being becomes a tremendous obsession with the Guajiro; the murderer is convinced that the dead man's spirit follows him everywhere. When he is ill he has

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782 424 781 Magic prayers. As a matter of interest we transcribe below without any comment the following statement we recorded: there are a few special prayers only known to certain natives, the verbal formula of which they sell at times to whoever may need it, on the understanding that these prayers will be used in all good faith and belief in their magic power, prayers that serve to cure whatever plagues may occur, and frequently do occur, in the cotton fields.

538 781 755 Magic charms in the oral literature. From the stories we were able to collect among the Guajiro natives relating to their daily life, there is one that has a clear connection with magic charms. It is the one which refers to the struggle of the Indian Kurfta-Páta, of Jarara, with some Kusina Indians who had come to rob him of his livestock. In this struggle the Jarara Indian was wounded in the thigh, and his cure was effected through a dream in which it was communicated to him that he should swallow a charm (a tuma, "a precious stone") and leave his wife to exchange her for a slave. Kurfta-Páta obeyed these injunctions and was cured.

We have then a new magic charm which has a medicinal function and which must be added to those we have already noted throughout this chapter. Its magic action is combined with a social act of great importance within the Guajiro community: that of a man leaving his own wife and replacing her with a slave, descending thereby in the social scale, as there is [561] a great difference in status between a free woman and a common slave or bond servant. A new magic object, the tuma, appears as the possessor of supernatural powers capable of warding off those evils that can overpower an individual.

787 Summary and classification. 1) What we have called magic charms [contras mágicas] in this chapter include three classes of known magic objects: fetishes, amulets, and talismans. [107]

2) All these possess in greater or lesser degree a magic power capable of working either good or evil.

3) Their action in the majority of cases can be controlled and directed by their owners, especially in the case of doing ill

[135 cont.]

536 796 pretend to be eating and playing tranquilly. The devil, another Indian, taking advantage of the carelessness of the men who are occupied with their fun, and covered as always with his black robe, enters the cloud to do them evil. Immediately a fight starts up between the Indians and the devil. In the end the cloud traps the devil and emerges triumphant in the play.

541 536 796 5. The horse race. Horse racing is the sport or trial of prowess most practiced in the ordinary life of the Guajiro. In this sport they try to bring to the fore the name of the horse and the skill of the jockey. In all the large fiestas a number of horse races are always staged, and such is their enthusiasm for them [538] that they are frequently mentioned in some stories told by the natives. [136]

536 539 796 During the Fiesta of the Kid two groups are formed which, as in the previous cases, are under the direction of their respective leaders. Each group has assigned to it an equal number of men, representing so many race horses. The race course having been previously marked out with its starting point and finishing post, one of the singers begins by referring to the goodness of his horse, praising its speediness. The other replies in an identical tone, using eulogistic concepts regarding his animal. They soon arrange a match which they put into practice. One of them says: "There goes my roan horse; he is swifter than the clouds and the wind and braver than any other in La Guajira." The other sings: "This is my chestnut horse. I am sure that he will win because he is swifter than the deer." They start off their horses and run the race. Following them, race another pair, then another, until all the competitors have taken part.

825 241 536 796 The bees and the fruit thieves. There is a kind of small bee in the peninsula which the Indians call wáya. These bees make their nests in trees or in hollow tree trunks. If a blow is struck near the hive, the bees swarm out, attacking and getting into the hair of anybody standing nearby. They get inside the intruders' clothes and swarm all over them, crawling over their bodies, buzzing angrily, bothering their enemies until they are in a state of desperation. The Indians have a habit of collecting 536 796 hives of these bees and placing them at the entrance to their fields, making use of the bees to defend their harvest from thieves.